2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[175]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[176]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[176] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[175]

713 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of 727 prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[175] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 310.
[178] Trowbridge MS.
[179] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[177] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[176] Holm, p. 138.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[18]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

386. War chief determines question of battle						+	+	•+	+		+		
387. Plan of operations previously arranged						+	+	+	–		+		
388. If victorious, any ceremonies on field					•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)		
389. If defeated, a rallying point fixed						+	+	–	+	+	•		
390. Ceremonies on return if victorious						–	+	+	+	+	+		
391. Dance					+			+	+	+	+		
392. Report to council and given feast							+		(+)				
393. Ceremonies on return if defeated						–	–	–	(+)	–	•(+)		
394. Prisoners run the gantlet				+	+		+		•	–	•		
395. Burned		+	(–)	+	(+)	–	•+	–	–	–	•		
396. Generally adopted		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	(+)		
397. Prisoners of mature age adopted					+	+	+	+	+	+	•		
398. Considered members of adopting family		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•		
399. Age of beginning to bear arms						12-15	24	16	•14	15	14		
400. Age of ceasing to bear arms				50+				70					
401. As long as physically able						+	+		+	+	+		
402. Defensive armor		+	+	+	–	–		–	+	–	+		
403. War caused only by injuries—retaliation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		
404. Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites					+	+		+	+	+	+		
405. Principal chief states injuries, and calls for volunteers, no arguments used	–					+	+	+	+	+	+		
406. Feasts precede march				+		–	+		+	+	+		
407. Fasts precede march							–		+				
408. Consultation of jugglers before march						–	–	•–	+	+	+		
409. Provision made for care of wounded	+			+		–	+	+	+	–	+		
410. Women accompany war party						–	•–	•–	–	–	–		
411. Any actions fought in canoes	+					–	–	–	+	–	–		
412. Sieges prosecuted or defended		–				–	–	–	+	–	+		
413. Large parties go to war		–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
414. Small parties depending upon surprise		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
415. Scalps taken	•–			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
Peace													
416. Ambassadors sent to negotiate					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
417. Persons of ambassadors sacred					•+	+	+	•	+		+		
418. Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire for peace, delivered with speech					(+)	+	+	–	•+		+	+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728